

# Social Questions

## BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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## Quakers Chart Path to Peace

[In July the American Friends Service Committee issued a report on American-Soviet relations. We outline below the conclusion and as many points as space permits. The complete report may be secured from the MFSA national office.]

Improvement is possible in American-Soviet relations, according to this AFSC report. Certain policies on economic relations, Germany, and the United Nations would lessen tension and improve relations between the two countries. The world can be so ordered as to eliminate war, or the threat of war, as an instrument of national policy.

Basic considerations for belief in improved relations include:

1. The widespread, sincere desire for peace.
2. Both the Soviet social organization and that in the western world are likely to persist for some time. Attention should be directed to their co-existence rather than to the victory of one over the other.

(The Soviet regime is not on the verge of collapse. The traditions of political democracy in the "Western European cultural tradition" lead those countries toward peaceful social change as in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. Barring great economic instability, these countries will not become communist.)

3. While the methods and aims of the two systems differ, both attempt to promote the general welfare.

(Both say they want peace, equality of opportunity and democracy for their citizens. In both countries the goals are compromised by undemocratic practices and by elements of cultural heritage—e.g., intolerance of political minority rights in Russia, and racial discrimination in the U. S. But if the two nations work for their proposed goals they can live peacefully.)

4. There is the possibility of sufficient accommodation between the two systems to permit them to co-exist and to compete peacefully in the world.

(Despite evident conflicts, other opposing philosophies have survived—Christianity and Mohammedanism, the Catholic Church and Protestantism. The latter conflict was so bitter that Martin Luther said, "It is far better to be a hangman or a murderer than a Priest," and Pope Pius V, "It is only by the complete extermination of heretics that the king will be able to give back the ancient worship of the Catholic religion to this noble Kingdom. Both adversaries still survive.

Final conflict is predicted by Marxism. It is not to be promoted by communists, but to be determined by the historical situation. If non-communist countries prevent economic chaos, they need not fear communist victory.

DeWitt Clinton Poole, pre-revolutionary U. S. Consul General to Moscow, pointed out that the U. S. and Russia have never liked each other's government but have fought on the same side in two world wars.

The economies of the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. are complementary while both are remarkably self-sufficient. The Soviet Union wants consumer goods, particularly industrial equipment; and the U. S. wants to export these goods. Marxism postulates that capitalist countries are driven into war over markets, but the burden of disproving this rests with the capitalist countries.)

5. Much of the present tension between the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. reflects mutual fear.

(Russia experienced invasions ever since the ninth century and Marxism claims capitalism opposes socialism. The U. S. also fears the Soviet Union.)

6. It is improbable that we can overcome this mutual fear by arms competition.

(Recent attempts to influence other countries by military means have not succeeded—witness the failure of the French to control Polish foreign policy in the 30's; the displacement of Soviet military advisors in China in the 20's and in Yugoslavia in 1948; the capture of U. S. arms by the Chinese Communists; the use by the Dutch of lend-lease arms against the Indonesians.

Air-atomic military power cannot be used effectively against non-industrialized countries or in civil wars. It kills friend and foe.

A high-level of armed force in non-Communist Europe is unlikely. The desire of these countries for peace would make them uncertain military partners in a war against the Soviet Union. The United States would have to bear most of the burden.

An air-atomic war's legacy of hatred, disease and starvation would be incalculable and the cost of reconstruction terrific. Both sides face the horrors of atomic bombing.

Armament increases on one side lead only to increases on the other.)

7. Reducing armaments and the reliance on military weapons is desirable before arms competition weakens democratic institutions.

(Civil liberties are threatened by fear of espionage which creates a witch-hunting hysteria. Domestic welfare programs must be curtailed in favor of armaments. Dr. G. Edwin Nourse in a speech at the Pentagon in April spoke of the deterioration of the school system during the war, and the low appropriations for slum clearance, housing, public health, etc., at the present time.)

8. Neither the U. S. nor the U.S.S.R. intends at the present time to promote its foreign policy by military aggression.

(Russia suffered immense physical damage during the war. Military action would seriously jeopardize her internal recovery. Her economic problems in controlling Western Europe would be prohibitive. In so far as Communism is

(Continued on page 91)

# Behind the Headlines

Behind the headlines of the three months in which this column does not appear is a big story, untold by the news which the headlines often distort and sometimes falsify. It is the story of the increasing breakdown of capitalist morality, its inability to live up to its own standards, its increasing need to destroy them in the vain effort of its ruling classes to preserve the privileges and powers it gives them. It is a story of the temporary avoidance of war but the further development of policies that make it harder and harder to prevent it. It is a story of the increasing destruction of the political democracy that came into being with the capitalist economy, and of the fundamental virtue of honesty, the development of which had been one of the boasted achievements of that economic system.

## The Use of Deception

The cold war was put over by a succession of scares about Soviet aggression. The same tactic has been used in driving through the Atlantic Pact and the Military Arms Program. John Foster Dulles has said that he does not know any responsible leader who believes there is any present military threat from the Soviet Union. *U. S. News and World Report* confirmed this by special enquiries in Washington and London. The same journal now tells its businessmen readers: "War scare is having to be drummed up again to excite interest in a gift of arms to other nations. War talk is artificial, phony, but it is regarded as necessary to get Congress stirred up enough to produce a favorable vote." Dulles had previously reported the discussion in the Foreign Ministers meeting about using "artificial alarm" over the Berlin situation. Truman goes on making his speeches justifying the program by the threat of Soviet aggression and its obstruction of peace.

The Pact and MAP are officially presented as "coordinated defense" against this threat of aggression. Acheson however admitted to the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the Soviet Union and the Eastern democracies "have not progressed one inch from the area which Soviet troops occupied during the war," adding they had lost ground by withdrawing from Iran. Nevertheless in the White Paper the State Department charges Red China with being the agent of "Soviet Imperialism." This after recognizing its indigenous nature and its strong virtues.

While Truman and Acheson talk about "coordinated defense" Bradley, head of our armed forces tells the House Foreign Affairs Committee that MAP is needed because "In the place of the vanquished foe has arisen this new aggressor, bent upon absorbing the exhausted victors. The spectre of another would-be master attempting to enslave our presently allied peoples has given a sense of urgency to our plans." And Marshall Montgomery, chairman of the Western Union Commander-in-Chiefs' Committee, tells the Royal Netherland Society: "Who is the enemy who is challenging Western civilization and threatening our way of life? The enemy is communism, which is a religion and is anti-Christian. As a Christian soldier I declare myself an enemy of communism and all it stands for." He says we are already at war with communism in the cold war and wants to prevent its becoming the "shooting war."

How this is to be done by planning and preparing to attack Russia the military mind does not attempt to explain. Nor the financial mind which is already raking in advance war profits from this program. *U. S. News* tells businessmen of the three phase blueprint plan "for fighting Russia . . . Phase 1. Surprise atom-bomb air raids over Russia." How this sneak attack, upon the industrial population as well as military installations, is defense is of course not explained. Such barbaric slaughter of the whole population of industrial districts can only be justified by the same illusions that drove Forrestal to suicide, his brilliant finance-military mind

wrecked by the impossibility of solving the problem confronting him with his conditioned pre-conceptions. The same illusions are producing symptoms of collective madness all through our present military program and unless checked in time they will inevitably lead to collective suicide.

## The Growth of Dishonesty

While the press has a Roman holiday with the time dishonored graft of the five-per-centers the basic loss of honesty in the whole war and profits program goes unrecognized by most of our people. It is now admitted that the arms program is really closer to two than the one and a half billions officially proclaimed. This is because the book value of the surplus war stocks to be turned over to Western Europe is put at much less than the actual value, let alone that which the American taxpayer once before paid for them. Only a week before this second taxpayers' bill—part of it for the same military equipment they had already paid for—went to Congress, the Controller General revealed that the government had over-paid eleven and a half billion for war-time contracts of which more than six billion was based on outright fraud. This report was based on only 9,195 contracts studied out of about 26,000.

The same situation is revealed in the White Paper on China. A large part of the money granted for "economic aid" after V-J Day went to buying surplus military goods at marked-down prices. This increased the profits of those handling the transactions there and here. (*U. S. News*, Aug. 26, has detailed story how "insiders" got rich on Chinese aid. "Nearly half the amount we spent for post-war lend-lease supplies to China is listed as 'services and expenses'.")

The dishonesty revealed in the White Paper goes farther and cuts deeper. It describes in detail the corruption and bankruptcy of the Chiang regime. It admits that our leaders knew it was bound to fail. Yet we went on helping it to kill more Chinese peasants, workers and honest intellectuals, many of them products of our missionary efforts. Furthermore the Paper proposes to continue to support any effort to overthrow the belated Chinese democratic revolution. "I consider that we should encourage all developments in China which work to this end," says Acheson. That can only mean, as it did in Russia after World War I, supporting reactionaries who would destroy the principles and practices of even capitalist democracy, if they could.

## Democracy in Peril

That is exactly what our government is doing and permitting here. The Hiss-Coplon trials on top of the Trial of the Twelve, have revealed what was before known only to a few, that the FBI has been using the methods of a police state—spies, and their often ridiculous reports—to build up files concerning the political views and actions of millions of citizens who have committed no violation of law.

In the Communist trial the basic principles of democratic justice are being destroyed. The judge takes over the role of prosecutor, shows time and time again presumption of guilt instead of innocence before proof, denies the defense the right to introduce evidence on vital clauses in the indictment. The press, in large degree, cooperates by sensationally playing up the assertions of FBI spies and printing not a word of the rebuttal by the defendants and their fellow party members.

The accompanying result is a flood of anti-democratic state laws and city ordinances, and unchecked outbreaks of mob violence and the lynching spirit, Negroes often being the first victims. Academic freedom suffers the worst attack in our history. The picture is not merely decadence. It is degeneracy. Capitalist society, led by the United States, trying to stop the advance of social democracy, is destroying

(Continued on page 96)

## The Peekskill Riots

At summer's end two outbreaks of mob violence occurred near Peekskill, N. Y., against Paul Robeson and men, women, and children who had come to hear him sing. The first outbreak brought no police protection; the concert was prevented. The second outbreak involved post-concert wrecking and stoning of autos and buses near the concert grounds. Thorough non-partisan inquiry is needed to uncover all causes of the violence. But it was clearly fanned in part by a segment of the press (Peekskill's paper compared the illegal attacks with "the Boston Tea Party") and in part by an extremely hostile veterans parade, which officials permitted right outside the concert grounds. (Catholic War Veterans, Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars.)

Scores of persons were injured and hospitalized, both concert-goers and passers-by unrelated to the concert. Hurling stones were epithets against Communists, Negroes, Jews. Nine hundred policemen failed to prevent or stop the violence. The police chief's son participated and has been indicted. Photographs show other policemen standing by as concert-goers were beaten. Mrs. Roosevelt and many others condemned the police failure and called for investigation. Governor Dewey appointed as investigator District Attorney Fanelli who had been in charge of the police protection! Mr. Fanelli "investigated" and found the police force praiseworthy.

The Governor finally issued his own statement. He joined his District Attorney by lauding the police. He admitted the concert-goers had "behaved with discipline and committed no assaults" and "were themselves victims of lawlessness and the suppression of fundamental rights." But though he had waited to make any statement until after the "investigation" and claimed to "have inspected motion pictures, some several hundred photographs and a variety of other reports concerning the incidents," he neither named nor described a single guilty person or group. But though admitting the concert-going victims were orderly and "disciplined," he described them in blanket and prejudiced terms as "followers of red totalitarianism which teaches violence and the suppression of individual liberty." In fact, the entire statement was an attack not on the perpetrators but on the victims of the violence. It exemplifies the violent, hysterical "anti-communism" which the Civil Liberties Union so roundly condemns in its current annual report (reviewed on page 96) and which was decisively responsible for the lawless mob violence which the Governor and police forces failed to prevent or punish. The outbreaks have the traits of full-blown Ku Kluxism and fascism (including violent racism and anti-Semitism). The Governor does not use such terms or appreciate their relevance. But his statement abounds in such terms as "red totalitarianism," "a communist bear trap," etc.

Though (the Governor notwithstanding) many non-communists welcome opportunity to hear a great singer like Paul Robeson, communists also were among his listeners. One injured victim of the violence was one of the communist leaders on trial for allegedly "teaching" violence though no violence resulting from the alleged "teaching" is even charged.

The Civil Liberties Union pointed to "a conspicuous omission in the Dewey statement, 'no explanation of the failure of police to provide protection at the first Robeson meeting.'" Dewey also omitted reference to the racism and anti-Semitism which had been manifested by the "anti-Communists." (For this there is documented proof, including a wire recording taken during the outbreak—and broadcast over the radio.) The Governor's only hint of this important factor in the situation was to refer to "the Communist strategy to foment racial and religious hatreds." It seems that people are guilty of "fomenting" racial and religious hatreds if they expose and oppose them when and where they exist!

Despite the many protests over the impropriety of appointing to "investigate" one who was himself responsible for law-enforcement and implicated in its break-down, Mr. Dewey

again appointed Mr. Fanelli for the second more thorough investigation. Another "whitewash" would not be too surprising.

The riots in Republican New York were akin to those during the summer in Alabama, Florida and elsewhere where whites and Negroes were victims of Ku Klux attacks. As Mrs. Roosevelt said, this proves that the shameful mob violence problem is *national*, not sectional.

One important fact in the whole episode was cited in a letter in the *N. Y. Times* from Dr. T. T. Brumbaugh, an MFSA resident of the county in which the outbreaks occurred, and a Methodist Mission Board leader. He pointed out that one "justification" for the 100 per cent "Americans" who committed the violence was that their organizations were most respectable and on no "subversive" list, while the Civil Rights Congress (for which the concert was held) is one of many organizations which the Attorney General listed as "un-American" without giving any opportunity for either rebuttal or hearing.

MFSA Chapters in the vicinity were active, and Methodist and other preachers spoke from their pulpits against the violence and the attack on free assembly.

Mrs. Roosevelt, Pres. Truman, the NAACP, ACLU, and many other individuals and organizations vigorously and unambiguously condemned the attacks—as did the MFSA through Administrative Committee action sending a letter to Governor Dewey calling for a new and immediate "completely independent, non-partisan investigation of this entire episode." The MFSA letter also termed the riots "an affront to all that America stands for." As to the investigation which the Governor had already ordered, the MFSA letter asked that it "give assurance of future safety to the victims of this riot and to all of us who cherish and would exercise the right of free assembly."

## Quakers Chart Path to Peace

(Continued from page 89)

nationalistic further major extensions could weaken Russian control—witness Yugoslavia.)

**There is little to suggest that the American people would support an aggressive war.**

**The United Nations would oppose the aggressor in a war.**

**Competitive growth of long-distance super-weapons does, however, increase the danger of war through fear, incident or accident.**

The economic policy suggested is that of *increasing the welfare of East and West by opening up U. S.-U. S. S. R. trade and encouraging the constructive personal contacts thus made possible.*

The United States should continue to seek *the restoration of a united Germany* to a place in the community of nations, under international supervision to prevent using German industry for military purposes and to allow all nations, including the Soviet Union, to trade with Germany.

The report suggests steps for *developing the United Nations, reducing armaments*, and creating an atmosphere in which the U. N. can be more effective.

The issues cannot be settled satisfactorily if isolated from each other. Progress must be made on a broad front. This would indicate the desirability of a time schedule being established on the basis of which the issues now outstanding between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. could be taken up for settlement. As mutual confidence is restored, U. S. and Soviet agreement might be secured to the strengthening of the political and legal authority of the United Nations.

## MFSA TESTIFIES FOR HEALTH INSURANCE

Rev. Alson J. Smith represented MFSA in Washington in late June in testimony favoring the National Health Insurance and Public Health Act. His complete testimony is available on request.

# State Department White Paper on China Reveals Foreign Policy Bankruptcy

*United States Relations with China* (Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Printing Office, Washington, D. C., \$3.00) reveals the moral failure of our China policy, and bears out MFSA charges of U. S. intervention and its predestined failure.

"Since V-J Day, the government authorized to Nationalist China in grants and credits approximately 2 billion dollars, more than 50 per cent of their monetary expenditures, proportionately greater in relation to the budget of that Government than provided any nation of Western Europe since the war. In addition large quantities of war surplus property (sold) with a total procurement cost of over 1 billion dollars, for which the agreed realization to the United States was 232 million dollars." The State Department nevertheless confesses "our aid has been unavailing."

Our China policy had results not emphasized in the White Paper: death and misery for the Chinese people and growing unpopularity of "American imperialism." We said and our foreign policy leaders knew that our intervention was against the will of the Chinese people and for a reactionary, unpopular government. Secretary Acheson admits the collapse came because of the Kuomintang's unpopularity and despite our intervention to save it.

"In no small measure, the predicament of the National Government is due to its failure to provide enough to eat. . . . The Kuomintang began to lose the dynamism and revolutionary fervor which created it. Our military observers on the spot reported that . . . its leaders had proved incapable of meeting the crisis, its troops had lost the will to fight, and its Government had lost popular support. . . . The ominous result of the civil war in China was beyond the control of the United States. . . . It was the product of internal Chinese forces, which this country tried to influence but could not. A decision was arrived at within China."

The White Paper shows that our foreign policy leaders had evidence that, in contrast to the oppressive government we supported, the Communist-led regime in the North had *popular support*, which was the source of the Communist movement's strength. Our government withheld until now its evidence on the Communist-led movement. Intervention sought to destroy this popular movement and the peasants supporting it. Our Foreign Service Officers in China, 1943-45 were studying the Chinese Communists at first hand, in part, to "report on Russian operations." They found no Russian operations to report, but amassed considerable evidence concerning the Chinese Communists: "Reports of two American officers, several correspondents, and twenty-odd foreign travelers regarding conditions in the areas of North China under Communist control are in striking agreement."

*"The Japanese are being actively opposed—in spite of the constant warfare and cruel retaliation. This opposition is possible and successful because it is total guerrilla warfare aggressively waged by a totally mobilized population. . . . This total mobilization has been made possible by an economic, political and social revolution. This revolution has been moderate and democratic. It has improved the economic condition of the peasants by rent and interest reduction, tax reform, and good government. It has given them democratic self-government, political consciousness and a sense of their rights. It has freed them from feudalistic bonds and given them self-respect, self-reliance and a strong feeling of cooperative group interest. The common people, for the first time, have been given something to fight for."*

"The Japanese are now being fought not merely because they are foreign invaders but because they deny this revolution. The people will continue to fight any government which limits or deprives them of these newly won gains."

"The Communists have survived ten years of civil war and seven years of Japanese offensives. They have survived not only more sustained enemy pressure than the Chinese Central Government forces, but also a severe blockade imposed by Chiang."

"They have survived and grown . . . since 1937 (in) almost geometric progression. . . . The reason for this phenomenal

vitality is simple. It is mass support, mass participation. They have this support because the governments and armies are genuinely of the people."

As for the Kuomintang, our Foreign Service Officers reported: "*The desire of the Kuomintang leaders to perpetuate their own power overrides all other considerations. Result, the enthronement of reaction. . . . The Kuomintang ignores the drive within the country for democratic reform. The writings of the Generalissimo and the Party show they have no real understanding of that term. . . . The Kuomintang is unwilling to take any effective steps to check inflation which would injure the landlord-capitalist class. It is directly responsible for the increase of official corruption, one main obstacle to any rational attempt to ameliorate the financial situation.*"

"The Kuomintang has lost its power of leadership; it neither wishes actively to wage war against Japan itself nor to cooperate wholeheartedly with the American Army in China; it has ceased to be capable of unifying the country. Why?"

*"These apparently suicidal policies of the Kuomintang have their roots in the composition and nature of the Party. Politically, a congerie of conservative political cliques interested primarily in preservation of their own power; economically, the rural-gentry-landlords and militarists, the higher government bureaucracy, and merchant bankers having intimate connections with the government bureaucrats. . . . The Kuomintang now no longer commands the unequivocal support of China's industrialists, who have been weakened by the Japanese seizure of the coastal cities."*

"The Kuomintang has lost leadership because it is no longer representative of a nation which is becoming more politically conscious and more aware of the Party's selfish shortcomings."

In 1943 our diplomats saw the civil war coming: "The Communists, with the popular support they enjoy and their reputation for administrative reform and honesty, challenge the Central Government and its spoils system. The Generalissimo cannot admit the Communist demands that their party be legalized and democratic processes be put into practice. . . . The Communists dare not disband their armies and be absorbed. This would invite extinction. . . . American and other foreign observers in Chungking (expect) an attempt to liquidate the Communists (producing) a civil war from which one of the two contending factions will emerge dominant."

General Marshall accurately predicted the outcome of such a civil war in an unheeded warning to Chiang. U. S. Foreign Officers back in 1944 reported to our government: "*Just as the Japanese Army cannot crush these militant people now, so also will Kuomintang force fail. With their new arms and organization, knowledge of their own strength, and determination to keep what they have been fighting for, these people . . . will resist oppression. They regard the Kuomintang as oppressors; and the Communists as their leaders and benefactors.*"

*"With this great popular base, the Communists cannot be eliminated. Kuomintang attempts to do so by force must mean a complete denial of democracy. This will strengthen ties of the Communists with the people: A Communist victory will be inevitable. . . . Chiang's feudal China cannot long coexist alongside a modern dynamic popular government in North China. The Communists are in China to stay. And China's destiny is not Chiang's but theirs."*

"If we come to the rescue of the Kuomintang on its own terms we would be buttressing—but only temporarily—a decadent regime which by its existing composition and program is incapable of solving China's problems."

Our government ignored these reports and this warning. In Acheson's own words, "Nevertheless, we continued for obvious reasons to direct all our aid to the National Government." The result? Many of China's best people are dead. Our anti-democratic foreign policy is exposed and discredited.

J. R. M.

that all men might live

"... an atomic explosion occurred in the U.S.S.R." (Pres. Truman)  
"... shattering this country's atomic monopoly." (United Press)

Our illusory "secret" had been a weak reed for American post-war policy. Influential anti-Soviet men made wild statements. China's Cardinal Tien urged atom bombs on Russia, as did ex-Governor Earle before the Un-American Committee. In leading magazines "experts" detailed atom-bombing of Soviet cities and peoples. Mr. Churchill asked that we use the bomb to bring matters with the Soviet Union "to a head."

The early shattering of our atom-bomb monopoly may help end such insanity. Clearly now proposals for atom-bombing the Russian people are proposals for atom-bombing the people of the U. S. A. Anti-Soviet military expert Hanson Baldwin observes: "If we know atomic attack by Russia upon our cities is possible we are far less likely to wish to use the bomb. . . . The idea of destroying Russia's industrial-military potential by atomic bombardment must be restudied. . . . Long-range atomic attack upon Russia from bases outside Europe . . . was a popular concept. . . . It promised an 'easy war.' . . . Such a concept no longer makes political or military sense."

America's atom bomb over Hiroshima killed 80,000 persons. Our bomb over Nagasaki killed 45,000. There was, there could be, no retaliation. Subsequently we continued producing atom bombs. Last April after the Pact-signing, President Truman told Congressmen we would drop them again if "the welfare of the U. S. and the democracies of the world" required it. It was assumed that the next atom-bombing would be over Russian cities and people.

But 1949 differs from 1945. When atom bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we and our cities were immune. Now that is not so. Its intended victims have the weapon themselves. The bomb is no longer our monopoly. This may give pause to our militarists and "get tough" advocates. If so, the chances of world peace will grow.

N. Y. Times Science Editor, Wm. Laurence, stated: "... the latest event will make possible a better understanding between us and Russia, leading toward an agreement for international control of atomic energy. Bargaining between equals is more likely to produce desirable results." Anti-Soviet journalist James Reston wrote from Washington that Soviet atomic proposals heretofore haven't been considered very seriously because, "Russia's atomic policy was all hook and no bait. . . . Now, however, Mr. Vishinsky . . . is in position to offer to destroy, not only our bombs, but his own bombs; and officials here expect him to do just that."

In Bonn, our West German government capital, Prof. Otto Hahn, reputed discoverer of nuclear fission, said, "The news that Soviet Russia has the atomic bomb is good news. If both the U. S. and Russia have it, there will be no war." Dr. E. C. Creutz, pioneer in the Alamos, N. M., atomic development, held "It really is a good thing. . . . Now people will realize there is no atomic secret. It points out the need for very definite steps toward a real system for international control. . . ." The Compass reported from Lake Success: "Among neutral powers there was an expression of relief. It was felt that the end of U. S. atomic monopoly might make possible the outlawing of the atom bomb." Arthur Krock pointed to "the disuse of poison gas when it became a potent weapon on both sides" and stated, "some U. S. officials almost thought they saw a truce to atomic warfare."

In his scheduled U. N. Assembly address a few hours after Mr. Truman's announcement, Mr. Vishinsky urged "adoption by the United Nations of practical measures for the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and for the establishment of an adequate and rigid international control." He declared that "the use of atomic weapons and other means

of mass destruction of human beings is incompatible with the conscience and honor of nations and with membership in the United Nations." He also asked the Assembly to persuade the five major powers (U. S. A., Britain, China, France and U. S. S. R.) to conclude a peace pact. His third proposal was that the Assembly condemn war preparations.

The Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, asked that the "terrible and inhuman" atom bomb be outlawed, and urged "both the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. to renounce the use of the atom bomb which placed humanity on the brink of suicide." The paper renounced as illusory the notion that peace can be won by war preparations.

Sen. Sparkman (D-Ala.) reacted to the atomic news: "If there is no release from the mad armaments race, war is inevitable. I would be glad to see Pres. Truman and Stalin meet to discuss this."

Others were not so sane. They called for continuation and intensification of militarism and for more spy scares, hysteria and repression of civil liberties at home. (The House conferees accepted the far larger Senate figure for military aid.) These were they who were on the side of hell.

Many quarters, here and abroad, demanded that the U. N. and great powers make a fresh start on the entire atomic problem. Compromise is necessary on both sides. Neither great power can dictate a solution against the viewpoint or interest of the other. The day of "get tough," "take-it-or-leave-it" diplomacy should be over. It is time to seek a solution which solves the true interests of the American and Russian peoples. The paramount interest of both is the assurance of peace and life.

We follow Jesus who lived and died that all men might live and live abundantly, and whose Father's will it is that not one of the least of His children will perish. We follow John Wesley whose parish was not the West, but the World. We call, as from the beginning, for international control of atomic energy to enhance its development for service—and to prevent its use for destruction. For the children we love in the the United States and Russia and throughout the world, we ask for an end to atomic warfare and for the U.N.-observed destruction of all atomic weapons—now. Why not send your views to Pres. Truman and U. N. delegates today?

JACK R. McMICHAEL

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# Chapter News Across the Country

**CALIFORNIA-NEVADA**—A brilliant conference banquet was addressed by Bishop Tippet. Jack McMichael participated in chapter seminars and meetings; study and action committees on Rural Life, World Order, Temperance, Prisons, Race Relations, and Labor Cooperatives were organized. New officers: President, Raymond Grant; Vice-President, Roy E. Wilson; Secretary, Newell Knudson; Treasurer, Mrs. Herbert Neale. Frank Flegal's Membership Committee is collecting dues and receipting new members. Other chapters, please imitate!

An Industrial Work Camp was conducted by Rev. Andrew Juvinal and Dr. David Bruner to learn labor's problems firsthand, and to see how religion could be effective in their solution. After ten weeks of study, investigation, and toil in Stockton's industries, sympathy for militant trade unionism increased markedly; and these conclusions reached: (1) the church should undertake a vitalized program on behalf of labor; (2) labor and management should seek to apply in industry the social principles of Jesus.

**CHICAGO AREA**—Organized June 7. Approved a "Program for Housing 1949," result of Housing Action Conference and deliberations of 33 city-wide organizations. President, Carl Soule; Vice-President, S. Marion Riley, Jr.; Recording Secretary, Ivy Myers; Treasurer, Sadie Hill; Correspondent, Winifred Chappell. Executive Board: Armand Guerrero, Helen Bouchet, Lorraine Piggott, Raynold Hoover, George Cooley, and Floyd Mulkey.

**COLORADO**—J. Graydon Wilson reports new and growing interest in MFSA in the Conference, and the chapter's hope to become "the power for social action that it should be." Study was made of the Atlantic Pact. Officers: Kenneth M. Smith, President; Willis C. Phelps, Vice-President; J. Graydon Wilson, Secretary-Treasurer; William E. Rentfro, K. Orlando Lee, Harold E. Knudsen, Eugene Titsworth, Membership Chairmen.

**DETROIT-MICHIGAN**—The Detroit Conference Committee on World Peace included its report in the joint Detroit-Michigan MFSA chapter Social Action report, which was presented to both conferences, and adopted with minor changes. Opposition taken against the "cold war," appealing to the government to further interchange of cultural and religious leaders between U. S. and U. S. S. R., and to keep open the channels of diplomatic negotiation. Detroit conference voted against the North Atlantic Pact. Adopted resolutions decrying the barriers and tensions separating peoples, and urging: enactment of President's Civil Rights Program, permanent FEPC, Federal anti-poll tax, and anti-lynching laws, and legislation to outlaw segregation. Moved to oppose the Michigan law allowing public school buses to transport private school students. Detroit officers: Herbert Brubaker, Owen Knox, Dan Jorgensen, Edgar Wahlberg. Michigan officers: Philip Glotfelty, E. Sutcliffe, Gerald Salisbury.

**ERIE**—Adopted a new constitution at Spring Meeting, and made plans for intensive membership recruiting, using the BULLETIN and other promotional literature. President: Charles Aldrich; Secretary-Treasurer, James Kelly.

**GENESEE**—Bishop Reed, addressing the Conference, urged full utilization of church resources on a broad social front. MFSA chapter participated in the World Peace Team of the Genesee Conference, just returned from Europe. Chapter Leaders Bradford Webster, Allen G. Skiff, W. Donald Housser, and John Guyer promise a "serious attempt to reach the 100-chapter membership."

**KANSAS**—A chapter committee was appointed to act with representatives of the Conference Commission on World Peace and Social Causes to petition our State Department to exhaust every possibility of settling differences with Russia

by peaceful means. Voted to have a joint mid-year meeting with the Conference Commission, and made plans for the next chapter meeting at conference. Elected Dean Walters, Chairman; Judd Jones, Secretary-Treasurer.

**IOWA-DES MOINES**—Roy Pfaff, president, is striving toward 100-member status, in cooperation with Gene Carter, Secretary, and W. W. Marzahn, Vice-President. Plans are developing for a 2-day retreat when representatives of organized labor, farmers, coops, church, employers, teachers, and other diverse groups could assemble for discussion and informal living together, to combat isolation and misunderstanding, and strive for unity in social action.

**IDAHO**—Chapter organized at conference in meetings with our Executive Secretary. Officers elected: Chairman, Don Campbell; Vice-Chairman, L. C. Bernard; Secretary-Treasurer, J. Luther Martin; planned to collect dues and recruit new members, emphasizing opportunities at District Meetings.

**ILLINOIS**—Paul Pettit, President; Eugene Stauffer, Vice President; Joseph Albrecht, Secretary-Treasurer. Recent meeting heard discussion on Federal Aid to education, displaced persons, atomic energy, social medicine and health insurance, FEPC and race. A second meeting on current issues is planned.

**NEW YORK EAST**—Chapter members were active in protesting the violence at Peekskill (in conference area) through numerous sermons and statements. New officers, Edgar N. Jackson, Thelma Burdick.

**NORTH IOWA**—The North West Iowa and Upper Iowa chapters merged in June into a strong North Iowa chapter. Gilbert Cox, President; A. M. Butler, Vice-President and Chairman of Social Action Committee; Glenn S. Hartong, Treasurer.

**NORTHEAST OHIO**—President Hugh Fouke is persuading BULLETIN members to take voting memberships in an all-out expansion drive. Excellent! Other officers are Ralph T. Alton, Vice-President; LeRoy C. Hume, Secretary; Joseph B. Hanan, Treasurer. Roger Ortmayer, Ted C. Mayer, Melvin C. Hunt are on the Executive Committee.

**OREGON**—Conference dinner introduced by Bishop Kennedy and addressed by Jack McMichael. The chapter introduced and worked for several social action resolutions in conference and has been most active in the fight for CVA, civil rights, etc., and against the Atlantic Pact and military aid program, under Mark Chamberlin's spirited leadership.

**PACIFIC NORTHWEST**—A grand turn-out at the conference dinner addressed by Bishop Kennedy and Jack McMichael. Strong chapter action taken against the Atlantic Pact and on behalf of civil rights. Chester Kingsbury, President.

**PORTLAND AREA FELLOWSHIP**—Washington, Idaho, and Oregon chapters are joining forces under the leadership of Robert Shaw, Chairman; Don Campbell, Vice-Chairman; Burchard Hilton, Secretary-Treasurer; Mark Chamberlin, Executive Secretary. The executive officers of each chapter will form the executive council of the area group. Voted opposition to the Arms Aid program; and support of Federal aid to public schools. Plans undertaken for a strong educational program in support of CVA, to publish a quarterly newsheet, and to cooperate with the World Peace Commissions of the three conferences in a 2-day seminar.

**SAN ANTONIO**—Mrs. W. B. Weatherford, secretary, reports the functioning of these committees: Legislation, Public Education, Citizenship, Parks and Playgrounds. Further action programs under way. E. W.

## Ernest Fremont Tittle

It is hard for us to realize that Ernest Fremont Tittle is gone. Through the last years he had warnings again and again of what might happen at any moment but it did not keep him from his work. Sunday, July 31, he preached his last sermon before vacation. The subject was "Hope" and its words have a deeper meaning as we read them now. He passed away on Wednesday morning while at work.

Dr. Tittle was first of all a preacher. He brought to that great vocation natural gifts: hard work, deep human sympathies, wide interests, an integrity which his hearers discerned and respected, a profound faith in God, a belief that Christ's way of life was the right way and the only way for industry and nations as for the individual, and above all courage to speak the truth. He preached for years at such schools as Yale, Harvard, Cornell, Princeton, and Chicago but his great work was in his own pulpit where overflowing congregations gathered week after week. A still larger group was reached by his printed sermons, some twenty-four of which were sent out each year by the congregation.

Dr. Tittle was deeply concerned with the problem of peace. He was called to First Church, Evanston, in 1917. It was a great opportunity for a young man of 33, but he told that committee that he was going to Europe to serve in Y work with our boys at the front. He served there until the end of the war and the church willingly waited for him. His sermons against militarism early led to the attempt by certain "patriotic" groups to silence his message. First Church took decisive action. A strong committee, which included business, university, and professional men, declared for the freedom of the pulpit. This freedom was not again challenged. It did not mean agreement with all his positions by all his members; it did mean confidence in the integrity of the man. But Dr. Tittle's concern was much more than opposition to war. It was constructive, for world peace resting on justice and mutual regard, working through and for a union of the nations. Especially notable was his leadership at General Conference and in the Commission on World Peace.

It is hardly necessary to refer to his deep interest in all problems of social justice. Anti-Semitism, Jim Crowism in every form, exploitation whether industrial or imperial, violation of the rights of Pacific coast citizens of Japanese birth or ancestry during the war—against all such sins he bore his witness. And because it was so widespread and carried its divisive spirit into the church itself, he was especially concerned with the problem of race prejudice.

In his zeal for causes, Dr. Tittle did not forget people; and people for him meant human beings, not an abstract "humanity." His work in his own church was witness to this. He had great congregations and a most effective church organization. But his interest went to individuals and families.

These words are obviously no mere effort at appraisal; they are a personal tribute. In that spirit let me refer to one other quality: his humility of spirit and openness of mind. He was always ready to learn, to face new situations, to accept new obligations. Hence he never stopped growing, and he kept to the very last his vigor and aliveness of mind and heart.

You recall the words in St. Paul's of London on the tomb of its architect, Sir Christopher Wren: "If you require a monument, look about you." Dr. Tittle's monument will be found in the movements that he furthered and the lives which he inspired and enriched.

HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL

*Members of the Methodist Federation for Social Action were shocked by the passing of National Committee Member Ernest Fremont Tittle. We had come to lean on him for counsel and help. Our MFSA tribute was written by Dr. Harris Franklin Rall who was close to Dr. Tittle and who was a Federation Vice-President for many years.*

## ACADEMIC FREEDOM TRIUMPHS ON METHODIST CAMPUS

F. A. BEHYMER

[Mr. Behymer is a long-time member of the Board of Trustees of Methodism's McKendree College in Lebanon, Illinois, and is on the editorial staff of the "St. Louis Post Dispatch." He was himself very active in the victorious battle for academic freedom which raged at McKendree this past year and which he reports in this article. In these days when academic freedom is everywhere under attack it is good to know and record such a solid victory.]

When Dr. Meredith F. Eller came to McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill., to teach philosophy and religion he was assured of academic freedom. He was told that he would be free to present the findings of scholarship, research and science. He was to be a liberal teacher with no strings on him except that he was asked to be "sympathetic" toward conservative students.

There came a time when his teaching, although he had tried to be "sympathetic," was called in question by a group of about 15 fundamentalist students who called him a modernist and an atheist, and demanded his removal. Dr. Carl C. Bracy, president of the college, yielded to them to the extent of suggesting to Dr. Eller the advisability of resigning, which Dr. Eller expressed a willingness to do in the interest of harmony.

That was the situation when the semi-annual meeting of the board was held in January. Dr. Bracy in his report on the faculty did not list Dr. Eller for the ensuing year. In answer to a board member's inquiry as to the status of the teacher, Dr. Bracy said: "He has resigned."

A resolution reaffirming the principle of academic freedom enunciated by Dr. Bracy and adopted by the board the year before was attacked and had to be withdrawn, leaving the board in the position of evading a stand on the question.

Friends of Dr. Eller who sought the intervention of Dr. H. G. Hurley, president of the board, were told by him that the teacher had resigned "in writing" and that nothing could be done about it. Dr. Eller denied that he had done so and Dr. Bracy then wrote to him requesting his resignation in writing "within a few days." Dr. Eller refused to resign, standing on his tenure under his three-year contract.

Robert C. Adair of St. Louis, president of the college alumni association, wrote to Dr. Eller, assuring him that the board would stand by the contract, declaring that he was doing "a grand job," and suggesting that the feeling of the students had been reflected in a petition signed by 140 of them which had been presented to Dr. Bracy, requesting the teacher's retention. It was the expectation and understanding of the students that the petition would be brought to the attention of the board but this was not done.

Dr. Eller, in his position, was relying on declarations made by Bishop J. Ralph Magee at the installation of Dr. Bracy as president in 1946, in which he called for "liberation of the college from crippling religious opinion that doesn't harmonize with tested truth in learning."

"There is," the bishop declared on that occasion, "new knowledge, new experimentation and new understanding in the field of religion. . . . McKendree must move forward with our day. . . . When religious opinion does not harmonize with tested truth in learning, then our theories of religion are wrong and must be changed. . . . The college must offer academic freedom to both teachers and students. . . . A religion that does not find its expression in human fairness, justice and some kind of sharing in the economic order is not a religion patterned after Jesus of Nazareth."

At the annual board meeting in June, Dr. Bracy, in his report, recognized the continuing tenure of Dr. Eller under his contract with a year to run, set his salary for the current year and stated: "No group of 12 or 15 students, no small pressure group off campus, not even the cabinet, nor the conference as such, determines the policy of the college." The board approved this report without comment—and academic freedom made a notable gain.

## You'll Want to Read:

**IN THE SHADOW OF FEAR, AMERICAN LIBERTIES 1948-1949.** *29th Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union; 88 pages; 25¢ per copy with special rates in quantity.*

The cold war, rearmament program and anti-Communist hysteria, and the "imagined insecurity" of our nation—the strongest in the world—are playing havoc with our liberties, the ACLU concludes. And it thoroughly documents that conclusion.

The report states that the present "hysterical atmosphere . . . exceeds in its severity, intolerance and fears any such period in the Union's 29 years of activity; and the dangers of enduring damage are therefore the greater, as well as the obligation to combat them." It charges this atmosphere with "the failure of a Congress elected on a liberal program to enact a single civil rights measure to date, or to remove the shackles of the Taft-Hartley act from labor's political and civil rights."

The anti-Communist hysteria also accounts for "an unprecedented array of barriers to free association, forced declarations of loyalty, black-lists and purges, and . . . taboos on those progressive programs and principles which are the heart of any expanding democracy." The Union finds "ominous tendencies to outlaw or exorcise every manifestation of Communist influence—and with it inevitably a large area of democratic liberty. The Communist Party is threatened with outlawry either by federal legislation . . . or by the government's current prosecution of its leaders under the sedition act of 1940, charging a criminal conspiracy solely for advocating historic Marxism as interpreted by the Communists. Bans on Communists and those associated with agencies held to be under Communist control, past or present, have been rapidly extended during the year to cover not only all federal employees, but thousands of employees in private firms working on government defense orders, all those receiving atomic energy fellowships and all registrants for the draft.

"Leading educators and associations have banned Communists alone from the teaching profession in moves unprecedented in academic life in singling out membership in one political party as a disqualification in itself, without regard either to other equally valid disqualifications or to the consequences of discouraging independence among teachers or of encouraging heresy-hunters and informers.

"Aliens charged with Communist connections were ordered deported in increasing number. Aliens seeking entry as visitors to international conferences were denied it when suspected of Communism. Even the United Nations staff has not been immune from unsubstantiated attack in Congress."

All of this has strengthened "inevitably . . . the conservative anti-Communist forces . . . (and) the military influence. . . . The FBI's functions have expanded under laws now penalizing opinions and associations, risking for the first time in our history the creation of a secret political police system with its array of informers and under-cover agents. The Attorney General's arbitrary listing of subversive organizations totalling now about 160 . . . has been grossly misused to stimulate the search for heretics and to encourage local officials all over the country to deny rights to agencies on the list. In foreign policy, and in relation to occupied Germany and Japan, the same tendencies to resist change for fear of playing into the hands of Communists has produced a reliance on conservative anti-Communists and a disinclination to support progressive forces for democratic reforms."

This report gives the factual record of the civil liberties battles of the last year, listing the victories as well as the defeats. It should be read by every Federationist. Order your copy today from the MFSA office.

**IF WE REMAIN SILENT** is a pamphlet issued in the public interest by the United Defense Committee Against "Loyalty" Checks. It is an excellent pamphlet to read in conjunction with the ACLU annual report. It highlights the shocking attack on freedom of association and of thought currently directed against all employees of Los Angeles County. The title is from the apt statement of O. John Rogge: "If we remain silent too long, we'll have forfeited our right to speak." Copies of this disturbing but challenging pamphlet are available free at the MFSA office.

## CHURCHMEN OPPOSE MILITARY AID

Hundreds of Methodist preachers, MFSA Chapters and other religious groups were active in the summer and fall campaign against the Military Assistance implementation of the Pact. MFSA nationally wrote every member of Congress a letter signed by Dr. A. E. Barnett for the Administrative Committee. Such widespread church opposition to the measure helped delay its passage and partly explains the growing Congressional reluctance to support the Administration's military programs.

## In Your Papers?

In Lorain, Ohio, Negro and white steel workers secured the reinstatement of a Negro worker with \$2,400 in back pay by the National Tube Company. He had been illegally held in jail at Cleveland for 90 days, as a material witness, because he was an innocent bystander when a man was killed in a dispute. The company had refused reinstatement because he had not notified management he would be absent. The sheriff had refused him permission to communicate with friends, relatives or attorneys.

In the House debate on the Taft-Hartley bill, the Republicans were taunted that the act had been written by Gerald Morgan, corporation attorney, who was paid \$7,500 by the Republican National Committee for the job. Republican Whip Halleck replied that Morgan was a "registered Maryland Democrat." The Democratic counter-rebuttal, by Barden of North Carolina, was that Morgan is "a young man of fine ability trying to make a living." This evoked laughter in the chamber, says the reporter.

*The London Mirror*, summarizing its interviews with a productivity team of British steel unionists (the first of 50 Marshall Plan delegations coming here to learn the "American way to work"): In Detroit they said they saw man turned into a robot, skill taken out of his job, "so an imbecile could do it if he could stand the pace." Said one delegate: "I like to see men working hard, but not working like this." And another: "This is just like Charlie Chaplin in that picture, 'Modern Times.'" Their conclusion was: "We must become more efficient, but not at that price—a price of all human dignity."

## Behind the Headlines

(Continued from page 90)

the political democracy it brought into being. The conclusive move, repeating the procedure of the struggle between capitalist democracy and slavery, is the elevation to the Supreme Court of the man who, with his "subversive" list and his initiation for political purposes of the trial of the twelve, has been the chief agent of repression.

The basic fact is that monopoly capitalism and democracy cannot live together. One has to get rid of the other. That explains our anti-democratic actions, at home and abroad. What has our religion, official and unofficial, to say about this? Is the record to end with an incomplete rebuking of the sins of both capitalism and communism? With the addition of the American delegation to the World Council which listed capitalism as free enterprise in face of the fact that it is now predominantly monopolistic, and has recently become parasitically dependent upon the state and its military program? Is progressive Protestantism going to watch the essentials of the decline and fall of the Roman empire repeated on a grander scale without any effort to fulfil the New Testament by dealing with the nature, not merely the shortcomings, of capitalist society?

H. F. W.